

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 ARA-10 ISO-00 IO-13 CIAE-00 PM-05
H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02
SS-15 USIA-06 COME-00 EB-08 LAB-04 SIL-01 HA-05
/112 W

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R 022107Z MAR 78
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8060
INFO ALL EC CAPITALS
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMEMBASSY LISBON
USNMR SHAPE
USMISSION USNATO
USCINCEUR
DIA WASHDC
USMISSION USUN
AMEMBASSY DAKAR
USDOCOSOUTH NAPLES
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
USMISSION USBERLIN
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI
AMCONSUL MARTINIQUE
AMCONSUL BORDEAUX
AMCONSUL LYON
AMCONSUL MARSEILLE
AMCONSUL NICE
AMCONSUL STRASBOURG

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 PARIS 07660

USDOCOSOUTH FOR INTAF

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT, FR
SUBJECT: GROUNDWORK LAID FOR RECONCILIATION IN THE ONCE

UNITED LEFT?

SUMMARY: THE GROUNDWORK MAY NOW BE IN PLACE FOR RAPID RECONSTITUTION OF THE ONCE-UNITED LEFT, IF FIRST-ROUND RESULTS PROVE TO THE LIKING OF BOTH PARTIES. IN ANOTHER CHANGE OF COMMUNIST ELECTORAL TACTICS, THE PCF RECENTLY ADOPTED A NEBULOUS CONCEPT OF "POLITICAL ACCORD" WHICH WOULD SEEM TO BE SOMETHING LESS THAN THE TOTAL PROGRAMMATIC AGREEMENT HERETOFORE PROCLAIMED SACROSANCT. THE SOCIALISTS HAVE LIKEWISE STATED THAT A "DECLARATION OF COMMON POLICY" IS POSSIBLE BETWEEN THE TWO ROUNDS, PROVIDING THE PCF AGREES TO WITHDRAW ITS CANDIDATES ON THE SECOND ROUND IN FAVOR OF BETTER-PLACED SOCIALISTS. BOTH PARTIES APPEAR TO BE TALKING THE SAME LANGUAGE -- A GENERAL STATEMENT OF LEFT GOVERNMENT OBJECTIVES AND COMPOSITION -- BUT BOTH HAVE SHORT-TERM ELECTORAL REASONS FOR LEAVING THEIR PROPOSITIONS VAGUE UNTIL AFTER MARCH 12. A SIMILAR FRAMEWORK FOR PROGRAMMATIC COMPROMISE, BUT ONE ALMOST CERTAIN NOT TO BE ADDRESSED UNTIL AFTER MARCH 19, MAY ALSO BE EMBODIED IN RECENT CPDT PROPOSALS, PARTICULARLY ON THE EMOTIONAL QUESTION OF NATIONALIZATIONS. END SUMMARY.

1. ANOTHER CHANGE IN PCF TACTICS: AFTER INTRODUCING FEBRUARY 16 HIS "12, 13, 19" SCENARIO (MAXIMIZE THE COMMUNIST VOTE ON MARCH 12, NEGOTIATE WITH THE PS ON THE CONFIDENTIAL

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13TH, LEFT VICTORY ON MARCH 19), PCF LEADER GEORGES MARCHAIS SWITCHED TACTICS ONCE AGAIN THE FOLLOWING WEEK THROUGH ALMOST CASUAL ADOPTION OF THE IDEA OF A "POLITICAL ACCORD" -- AN APPARENT HALF-WAY HOUSE ON THE ROAD TO TOTAL PROGRAMMATIC AGREEMENT. ALTHOUGH NOT YET CLEARLY DEFINED, THE ACCORD IDEA, NOW THE MAJOR THEME IN PCF PROPAGANDA, WOULD SEEM TO EMBODY A PS/PCF/MRG STATEMENT OF GENERAL AGREEMENT ON:

- A PROGRAM OF GOVERNMENT;
- THE PRESENCE OF COMMUNIST MINISTERS; AND
- NATURALLY MUTUAL SUPPORT OF THE BETTER-PLACED LEFT CANDIDATE ON THE SECOND ROUND (DESISTEMENT).

A POLITICAL ACCORD OF THIS NATURE -- IF FINALLY CONFIRMED AS A REITERATION OF THE GRAND LINES OF GOVERNMENTAL OBJECTIVES AS ALREADY SET FORTH IN THE COMMON PROGRAM -- WOULD BE A MORE FLEXIBLE, SOFTER REQUIREMENT THAN PREVIOUS PCF INSISTENCE ON A TOTALLY UPDATED COMMON PROGRAM, AND ONE WHICH CONSEQUENTLY COULD BE MORE EASILY ACCEPTED BY THE PS WHILE ALLOWING THE COMMUNISTS TO SAVE FACE.

2. SOCIALIST CONVERGENCE?: PS LEADER FRANCOIS MITTERRAND SAID FEBRUARY 24 THAT A "DECLARATION OF COMMON POLICY" (OUTLINING THE GENERAL THRUST OF A PS-PCF AGREEMENT TO BE NEGOTIATED AFTER THE ELECTIONS) WAS POSSIBLE BETWEEN THE TWO ROUNDS, PROVIDED OF COURSE THAT THE PCF FIRST AGREED TO GENERAL DESISTEMENT. MITTERRAND THUS CONTINUES TO REFUSE TO BARTER PROGRAMMATIC CONCESSIONS FOR SECOND-ROUND ELECTORAL SUPPORT, BUT NONETHELESS RECOGNIZES THE BOOST TO LEFT CREDIBILITY WHICH WOULD BE PROVIDED BY EVEN A MUNDANE "DECLARATION OF COMMON POLICY."

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H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02
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/112 W

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R 022107Z MAR 78
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8061
INFO ALL EC CAPITALS
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMEMBASSY LISBON
USNMR SHAPE
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USCINCEUR
DIA WASHDC
USMISSION USUN
AMEMBASSY DAKAR
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3. MITTERRAND'S IDEA WAS FURTHER ELABORATED IN A SEPARATE INTERVIEW WITH PS NUMBER TWO PIERRE MAUROY WHO CALLED A "COMMON DECLARATION" ON DESISTEMENT "INDISPENSABLE" FOR MARCH 13. MAUROY ADDED THAT SUCH A TEXT WOULD ALSO MARK THE WILLINGNESS OF ALL PARTIES TO CONTINUE WORK ON UPDATING THE COMMON PROGRAM AFTER MARCH 19 AND LIKewise REAFFIRM THE COMMITMENT OF THE THREE LEFT PARTIES TO GOVERN TOGETHER ON THE BASIS OF "EQUAL RIGHTS AND DUTIES", BASED ON THE RESULTS OF THE ELECTION.

4. GROUNDWORK FOR RECONCILIATION?: BUT REGARDLESS OF SIMILAR SOUNDING THEMES, NEITHER SIDE HAS YET COMMENTED DIRECTLY ON THE OTHER'S PROPOSAL, SO THAT THERE IS NO WAY OF KNOWING IF IN FACT "POLITICAL ACCORD" EQUALS "COMMON DECLARATION." UNTIL THE ELECTIONS, BOTH PS AND PCF HAVE AN ELECTORAL STAKE IN MAINTAINING THEIR CURRENT STATE OF SEPARATION, WITH EACH HOPING TO MAXIMIZE ITS SHARE OF THE POPULAR VOTE. THUS FURTHER RAPPROCHEMENT WOULD SEEM UNLIKELY BEFORE MARCH 12, BUT THE FRAMEWORK FOR TACTICAL RECONCILIATION IMMEDIATELY THEREAFTER SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN LAID, IF THE FORMER PARTNERS DECIDE TO REUNITE.

5. CFDT PROPOSALS -- A BASIS FOR COMPROMISE?: SIMULTANEOUSLY, THE CFDT'S RECENTLY PUBLISHED PROGRAM HAS BECOME THE SUBJECT OF EXTENSIVE SPECULATION OVER ITS POTENTIAL A THE BASIS FOR A COMPROMISE SOLUTION TO THE DIFFERENT INTERPRETATIONS OF THE COMMON PROGRAM

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(PARIS 7326). BOTH MITTERRAND AND MARCHAIS HAVE PUBLICLY ACKNOWLEDGED THE POSSIBLE UTILITY OF CFDT PROPOSALS,

WHICH INCLUDE:

NATIONALIZATION OF AFFILIATES IN WHICH THE NINE MAJOR JGROUPS EXERCISE 67 PERCENT CONTROL OR MORE, A TOTAL OF ABOUT 450 FIRMS (COMPARED TO THE PS FIGURE OF 227 AND THE PCF'S 729); INITIATION OF A "PROCESS" OF UNSPECIFIED DURATION FOR NATIONALIZATION OF THE STEEL INDUSTRY (PS FAVORS MAJORITY PARTICIPATION ON THE PART OF THE GOVERNMENT TO BEGIN WITH, MOVING TO NATIONALIZATION LATER ON, WHILE THE PCF WANTS

IMMEDIATE NATIONALIZATION).

6. ON THESE AND OTHER QUESTIONS, CFDT PROPOSALS COULD SERVE AS A REFERENCE POINT FOR LEFT NEGOTIATIONS, ALTHOUGH ON MANY ISSUES, SUCH AS WORKERS' PARTICIPATION, THE UNION'S IDEAS ARE SIGNIFICANTLY DIFFERENT FROM THOSE OF BOTH THE PS AND PCD. HOWEVER, IT REMAINS UNLIKELY THAT THE PS WILL PROVE WILLING TO NEGOTIATE ON SUCH SUBSTANTIVE MATTERS UNTIL AFTER THE ELECTIONS, PREFERING TO LIMIT DISCUSSIONS UNTIL THAT TIME TO NO MORE THAN GENERAL DECLARATIONS OF INTENT. NONETHELESS, THE GRUNDWORK MAY ONCE AGAIN HAVE BEEN LAID FOR A RAPID RECONCILIATION ON SOME HERETOFORE EXTREMELY DISTINCT ISSUES.

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Message Attributes

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Disposition Approved on Date:
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TAGS: PINT, FR
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